International Perspectives on Early Childhood Education and Development 6

Linda Miller Carmen Dalli Mathias Urban *Editors*

Early Childhood Grows Up

Towards a Critical Ecology of the Profession



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International Perspectives on Early Childhood Education and Development

Volume 6

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Early childhood education in many countries has been built upon a strong tradition of a materially rich and active play-based pedagogy and environment. Yet what has become visible within the profession, is, essentially a Western view of childhood, preschool education and school education.

It is timely that a series of books be published which present a broader view of early childhood education. This series seeks to provide an international perspective on early childhood education. In particular, the books published in this series:

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Linda Miller · Carmen Dalli · Mathias Urban Editors

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Towards a Critical Ecology of the Profession

Foreword by Peter Moss



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Foreword

Early childhood education and care may be on the up at present, attracting the favourable attention of national and international policy makers and politicians, identified as a 'good' sector of the welfare state deserving of expansion and investment. Yet it seems to me that its apparent healthy exterior hides many of the prevailing ills of our time, which, if ignored, may make the current attention something of a mixed blessing. What ills do I mean?

First is the technoscience, which as Edgar Morin puts it,

has invaded every tissue of the developed societies, implanting at an organisational level the logic of the artificial machine. This logic has penetrated the sphere of daily life and repressed the democratic power of citizens in favour of the experts and specialists (Morin & Kern, 1999, p. 68).

This logic of the artificial machine is fragmented, compartmentalised, reductionist; it is taken up with efficiency, predictability, calculability and specialisation; it avoids or seeks to control context and complexity; and it cedes our responsibility.

The second ill is the primacy given to an extreme instrumental rationality, 'preoccupied with calculation and quantification, with the relationship between inputs
and outputs, with finding the most economical application of means to a given end'
(Taylor, 1995). It is a prime example of what Lyotard (1984) terms 'performativity',
which Stephen Ball defines as 'a disciplinary system of judgements, classifications
and targets towards which schools and teachers must strive and through which they
are evaluated' (1998, p. 190). This instrumental rationality is focused intently on
defining and implementing an unwavering relationship between prescribed practices
and procedures (often given the shorthand of 'quality') and prescribed outcomes (for
example, learning or developmental goals). Process, everyday life, the unexpected,
which account for so much of life and make life so often worth living, have no place
here.

The third ill, expressed in the words of historian Carlo Ginzburg (1998), is 'constantly being offered solutions before we have asked the critical questions'. Putting technical practice first, obsessed by the technical question 'what works?', and assuming we can contract questions and answers to experts and specialists, education is drained of its essential political and ethical dimensions, dimensions that are needed to first generate then begin to find answers to key critical questions.

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Questions such as: What is our image of the child? Of the educator and preschool? How do we understand concepts such as education, care, learning and knowledge? What is the purpose of education? What are fundamental values of education? What do we want for our children, here and now and in the future?

Fourth, there is the ascendency of economistic thinking in an age of resurgent neo-liberalism. This resurgence has brought about a one-dimensional way of thinking, with the collapse of the social into an overwhelming economic sphere, a process vividly described by Nikolas Rose:

Social government must be restructured in the name of an economic logic... (and) the relation of the social and economic is rethought. All aspects of social behaviour are now reconceptualised along economic lines – as calculative actions undertaken through the universal human faculty of choice. Choice is to be seen as dependent upon a relative assessment of costs and benefits of 'investments' in the light of environmental contingencies (Rose, 1999, pp. 141–142).

Economistic thinking in early childhood education takes two main forms. First, the reduction of early childhood education to a simple matter of economic investment, justified in terms of delivering a certain level of economic return, typified by the oft quoted (and in my view dubious) claims that a dollar invested in early childhood education giving returns of \$6 upwards. Second, the commodification, privatisation and marketisation of early childhood education: In this way of thinking, early childhood education becomes a tradable commodity to be provided by businesses competing in the market place. The parent is a customer, engaged in an act of private consumption, an autonomous subject ('autonomous' understood as meaning independent of others, a separate entity with complete control over personal decisions) responsible for managing her own risks, in this case purchasing care and education to meet the needs of herself and her child, but at the same time relieved of responsibility for others beyond her immediate family. The child is the object of the service, to be cared for, perhaps to be educated, the passive recipient of the service purchased by his or her parents.

Of course, this is a selection of current ills, there are many to choose from, and there is much inter-connectedness and overlap. But I think they give a flavour of my thinking; as things are going we are in danger of governing children more, relying on early childhood to fix the deep structural problems in our societies, and imposing standardisation at the expense of plurality and critical self-awareness. If, as Morin suggests, the challenge facing our endangered species and ravaged planet is to think in context and think complexity, the way much early childhood education and care is going today will not pass muster.

Equally disturbing, important relationships are badly out of kilter and early child-hood education is caught up in this wider process too: the relationship between mankind and the environment; between prosperity and well-being; between coherence and diversity; and between poetry and prose. Another cue from Edgar Morin: Human life, he argues, is a mixture of prose and poetry, both necessary, both woven together, the prose side encompassing work, survival and aiming at targets, the main site for the practical, utilitarian and technical; while poetry is a way of life involving participation, love, eagerness and joy. But today the relationship between the two is

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quite unbalanced. Having separated prose and poetry, modern western civilisation has relegated poetry to private life. We need a powerful counter-offensive of poetry, and not least in education, at a time when human beings spend most of their lives surviving and where the future on offer seems to be ever more prose as we look forward to more years of paid work in an ever more competitive economy where the constant cry of the manager is more productivity and the constant cry of government and business is to compete better and consume more (see also Vea Vecchi, 2010, for a discussion of the place of 'poetic languages' in early childhood education).

It is in this somewhat dismal context that I welcome this book, as another sign of a growing movement of resistance and diversity. With its cross-national perspective, it makes us think of context and diversity, that perhaps not everywhere and everyone has the same values, goals, traditions and concepts – though some of that rich diversity may be lost by having to work in the modern *lingua franca* of English, not the first language of seven contributors. We are led to think too about different images and understandings of the child, the centre and the pedagogical work that takes place in it.

The book's focus on the everyday – relating as it does to some of the work done by an international team of researchers collaborating on a project titled *A Day in the Life of an Early Years Practitioner* – leads us to think about process and the meaning of living part of one's life, whether child or adult, in early childhood centres. It raises the critical question behind my colleague Alison Clark's Mosaic approach (Clark & Moss, 2001) to listening to young children, 'what does it mean to be in this place?' It acknowledges, too, the irreducible element of uncertainty when working with children and adults (and not just in nurseries one might add), reminding us that the concept of outcomes may have some use only if it allows for the surprising and unexpected, not just the predefined and normative.

The book delves into critical questions about pedagogy, relationships and professionalism. And the inclusion in one chapter of the term 'new public education' encourages us to contest the dominance of privatisation and marketisation, the 'new private education', and to open up for thinking what a new public education might mean and what it might offer our strained, fractured and unjust societies. One element of that 'new public education', for me, would be the valuing of collective over individual choice in many key areas, thus bringing democracy into the nursery as a foundational value and practice.

I have been critical of the technical, the managerial, the economic. Each though has its place, but it is a sign of a democratic, flourishing and just society that that place is debated and that the technical, the managerial and the economic are put at the service of richer and more important purposes – in the back seat, not the driving seat, tools at the disposal of the workforce not the other way round. Which brings me to a final observation: The growing attention given to early childhood education and care is bringing a welcome attention also to the workforce in these services, and not before time given the low levels of education and often disgracefully low pay deemed sufficient for many members of this workforce, in particular for those working with children under 3 years and in so-called childcare services. But – despite this attention and the higher levels of initial and continuing education it is giving some

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rise to – unless the technical, the managerial and the economic are reined in, and unless more space is made for the discussion of professionalisation, we may end up having achieved only a transition from the worker as substitute mother to the worker as lower or higher grade technician. I hope this book contributes both to the space needed for that discussion and to the discussions that take place in that space.

London, UK Peter Moss*

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Linda Miller Carmen Dalli Mathias Urban

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List of Acronyms

BA/BTeach Bachelor of Arts/Bachelor of Teaching

Danish Federation of Early Childhood Teachers and Youth BUPL.

Educators

CAF Common Assessment Framework

CETL Centre for Excellence in Teaching and Learning **CWDC** Children's Workforce Development Council **DCSF** Department for Children, Schools and Families **DfEE** Department of Education and Employment

DfES Department for Education and Skills

ECE Early childhood education

ECEC Early childhood education and care

Expertisecentrum Ervaringsgericht Onderwijs **ECEGO**

European Credit Transfer System **ECTS**

EJE Éducateur jeunes enfants Early Learning Goals **ELGs**

Effective Provision of Pre-school Education **EPPE**

ERO Education Review Office

EU European Union

EYFS Early Years Foundation Stage EYP Early Years Professional **EYPS**

Early Years Professional Status

Great Britain Pounds **GBP GDP** Gross domestic product **GDR** German Democratic Republic **HMT** Her Majesty's Treasury

Integrated Qualifications Framework IOF

ISCED International standard classification of education **ITERS** Infant Toddler Environment Rating Scale Lpfö98/06 Swedish Ministry of Education 1998/2006

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills Ofsted

QCA Qualifications Framework xviii List of Acronyms

SEEPRO Systems of early education/care and professionalisation

SEN Special educational needs

STAKES National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and

Health

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

Part I Professionalism in Local and Cross-National Contexts: Towards a Critical Ecology of the Profession

Chapter 1

Early Childhood Grows Up: Towards a Critical **Ecology of the Profession**

Setting the Scene

Carmen Dalli, Linda Miller, and Mathias Urban

1.1 Introduction

This book makes two key arguments. The first is that early childhood education has grown up; the second is that we need to contemplate a new future for early childhood education – one in which the profession is marked by a critical ecology.

1.2 Our First Argument: Early Childhood Education Has Grown Up

By growing up we mean that from a sector that historically has been the Cinderella of the education system (Dalli, 1993; Opper, 1993) - undervalued and underfunded – in recent years early childhood education has slowly but surely travelled up the priority list of national policy agendas across the globe (Miller & Cable, 2011; Moss, 2008, 2010; OECD, 2006). As a result, there has been an unprecedented interest in the professionalisation of the early years workforce, often linked to the argument that the quality of early childhood services, and the improvement of opportunities for children and families, are associated with more highly trained staff (OECD, 2006). National pedagogical and regulatory practices have been introduced in many countries in an attempt to develop and enhance professional practice and there has been an expansion of opportunities to obtain higher level qualifications.

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